

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3716

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 5070

LIMDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF, PK

SUBJECT: HIGH LEVEL AFGHAN VIEWS OF RECENT INSURGENCY  
PROBLEMS IN AFGHANISTAN

REF: A) KABUL 5002; B) KABUL 4881; C) KABUL 4965

1. SUMMARY: IN A CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR ON AUGUST 2, WAHEED ABDULLAH, WHO IS DE FACTO FOREIGN MINISTER OF AFGHANISTAN (PRESIDENT DAOUD HAS RETAINED TITLE OF FOREIGN MINISTER), GAVE LENGTHY RUNDOWN ON WHAT HE SAID WAS THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW OF THE RECENT INSURGENCY PROBLEMS IN THE PANJSHIR, LAGHMAN AND PAKTIA, END SUMMARY.

2. ABDULLAH SAID THAT PRESIDENT DAOUD AND THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN (GOA) THOUGHT THERE WERE THREE SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE DISTURBANCES:

A) THE GOA'S ADVERSARIES TRIED "THAT OLD BRITISH TRICK" OF USING RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN AFGHANISTAN TO STIR UP TROUBLE, BUT THE ATTEMPT WAS A FAILURE;

B) THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN, WHEN OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY  
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TO GO OVER TO AN ANTI-GOVERNMENT POSTURE REFUSED AND, ACCOR-

DING TO ABDULLAH, PLAYED AN ACTIVE ROLE IN HELPING GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES ROUND UP THE TROUBLEMAKERS;

C) THERE IS WIDESPREAD RECOGNITION IN AFGHANISTAN THAT THIS RECENT TROUBLE WAS THE RESULT OF MISCHIEVOUS INTERVENTION FROM PAKISTAN AND THUS THE AFGHAN PEOPLE ARE NOW MORE ALERT TO DANGERS FROM THAT QUARTER, IN ABDULLAH'S (AND THE PRESIDENT'S) VIEW.

THE AMBASSADOR ASKED MR ABDULLAH WHETHER THERE WAS ANY EVIDENCE OF DIRECT GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN (GOP) INVOLVEMENT IN THE RECENT TROUBLE. ABDULLAH SAID THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE, BUT HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE GOA WAS VERY UNHAPPY THAT THE GOP WOULD ALLOW SUCH DIRTY BUSINESS TO TAKE PLACE AND STATED THAT EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE GOA/GOP DIALOGUE HAD BEEN SET BACK. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE RESTRAINT AND LACK OF HISTORICS WITH WHICH THE GOA WAS HANDLING THE SITUATION AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE INCIDENT COULD BE PUT BEHIND BOTH PARTIES AND THAT THE CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE MIGHT BE RESUMED. THE AMBASSADOR SAID IT WAS ALWAYS DISTRESSING TO THE U.S. WHEN TWO FRIENDS OF OURS HAD SEVERE DIFFERENCES.

4. ABDULLAH SAID THAT HE WAS PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED BY WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS HEARTFELT EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR AFGHANISTAN IN AFTERMATH OF PANJSHIR TROUBLE BY IRANIAN AMBASSADOR DAVOUDI. ABDULLAH SAID THAT THE PAKISTANI'S SHOULD REALIZE THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN. (COMMENT: THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS RUMOR MILL IN KABUL HAS AN INTERESTING VARIATION ON THE IRANIAN POSITION REPORTED BY ABDULLAH: ACCORDING TO CHANCERY GOSSIP, THE IRANIANS, WHO SUPPOSEDLY KNOW THAT THE AFGHANS THEMSELVES HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN SOME COVERT ARMS SUPPLYING IN PAKISTANI BALUCHISTAN, WERE NOT ALL UNHAPPY THAT THE AFGHANS SHOULD GET A TASTE OF GUNRUNNING IN THEIR OWN BACKYARD. STILL, ACCORDING TO THE RUMOR MILL, THE IRANIANS (AND THE SHAH) HOPE THAT THIS WILL PERSUADE THE AFGHANS TO BE LESS MISCHIEVOUS IN BALUCHISTAN. THE IRANIANS, OF COURSE, HAVE THEIR OWN BALUCHI MINORITY AND HAVE ALREADY BEEN

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REPORTED AS TELLING THE AFGHANS TO BEWARE OF STIRRING UP BALUCHI NATIONALISM).

5. THE AMBASSADOR ONCE AGAIN ENCOURAGED RESTRAINT ON THE PART OF THE GOA IN DEALING WITH THE SITUATION. ABDULLAH SAID THAT THE GOA "WOULD PUBLISH THE FACTS."

6. THE AMBASSADOR THEN ASKED HOW THE INSURGENTS WERE LIKELY

TO BE TREATED. MR ABDULLAH REPLIED THAT IN HIS VIEW (WHICH HE SAID HE HAD GIVEN TO PRESIDENT DAOUD) WAS THAT THERE BE A PUBLIC TRIAL AND PUBLIC EXECUTION (SIC). HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD TOLD HIM THAT THAT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR HIM (DAOUD). ACCORDING TO ABDULLAH THE PRESIDENT REGARDED THE YOUNG MEN WHO HAVE BEEN CAPTURED AS "HIS CHILDREN" AND WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO ORDER THEIR DEATHS.

7. COMMENT: THERE IS AN APPARENT DISCREPANCY IN PRESIDENT DAOUD'S (REF A) AND ABDULLAH'S ACCOUNT OF GOP LINK TO PANJSHIR TROUBLE. PRESIDENT CLAIMED IN EARLIER CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR THAT "FIRM EVIDENCE EXISTS" CONCERNING PAKISTANI INVOLVEMENT WHILE ABDULLAH APPEARS TO BACK OFF FROM LINKING TROUBLE DIRECTLY TO GOP (PARA 2C ABOVE). SINCE ABDULLAH WAS PRESENT AT BOTH MEETINGS, DAOUD AND ABDULLAH MAY BE TRYING TO HOLD BACK ON THE QUESTION OF OFFICIAL GOP INVOLVEMENT AND BOTH MAY HAVE BEEN SPEAKING OF "INFORMAL" NON-GOVERNMENTAL PAKISTANI COLLABORATION.

ABDULLAH'S ACCOUNT OF EVENTS ALSO DOWNPLAYS SIGNIFICANCE OF DISTURBANCES. HOWEVER, AS STATED IN REFS B AND C, WE HAVE EVIDENCE THAT THERE WAS LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN THE PANJSHIR VIOLENCE. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE DISTURBANCES IN PANJSHIR, LAGHMAN AND PAKTIA CONSTITUTED THE MOST SERIOUS TEST OF REGIME'S POLICE POWERS TO DATE.  
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